2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

make acquaintance with the family into which he has married. Again 585
the party is divided into "buck-herds and doe-herds." The husband 574
enters the ladies' room and embraces all of his new female relations,
except his wife, whom modesty compels to turn away. He sups with [576]
the family and goes home alone. Next day the bride is brought back
to his house and the same pantomime of extreme reluctance is gone
through. She comes home usually in a carriage. I was told that formerly
it was etiquette for her to come on foot, but only inch by inch, so that
her return from a house round the corner might perhaps take hours.
She visits her family thus at week-ends for several months, but only
on the first occasion is a carriage and ceremony necessary.

A bridegroom, while I was in Scutari, revolted against the midnight
ceremony, and turned all the guests out of his house after the feast.
In spite of her assumed modesty the bride was deeply hurt at being
thus deprived of publicity. She complained to her parents, who angrily
asked why their daughter should have been thus insulted. Was she
not good enough to show as his wife to his friends in the usual manner?
Nor could they see that in this case the bridegroom's modesty had
been real and not assumed.

He was in the unusual position of having a house of his own. In most 591
cases the young couple lives in the house of the bridegroom's parents 592
in the town and has a separate room. The parents rule and control
the household, and the bride is often very hard-worked. The emigrants
returned from America have brought new ideas and the system is
breaking down.

Much of the above ceremony resembles Roman practice. The distaff,
the casket of household implements, the throwing of sweets, sprinkling
of water, epithalamia, the *patria potestas* also.

The girls of a family must be married according to age—the eldest 582
first, and so on. The origin of this is perhaps that formerly infant
betrothals were almost universal and girls were sent to their husbands
so soon as old enough.

In Scutari, and, I believe, in the other towns, the daughters, or at
least one of them, must be married before the sons can be married.
The explanation offered was that the daughters must be dowered,
and the sons cannot marry till they have helped earn the dowries.
Over these wedding outfits the parties are very exacting. The bride- 583
groom's family bargains for every stitch of the garments and stipulates
as to their quality. While I was in Scutari a betrothed man, who had
always worn Albanian costume, went to work abroad and dressed
à la Franga. He wrote home to say he now required drawers that
could be worn under trousers, and his fiancée, who had already finished
I forget how many dozen voluminous Albanian garments, had all her

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

586 Kadi, his wife may claim to be released from her vows to him. Other sufficient causes for divorce are ill-treatment, aberration of mind, and excessive corpulence on the part of the husband.

562 462 The Moslem Albanian, when he marries, is, like the Osmanli, bound to provide his wife with food, clothes, and shelter in keeping with his position and means, and cannot require her, as do the Christians, to earn money for herself or for him by her labour. She, on her side, is required to obey her husband and never oppose his wishes, to abstain from anything likely to annoy or vex him, and to watch over the interests of the family, and, if poor, she must do the work of the house, cook the food, do the dairy work, spin the [283] wool and flax necessary for the family use. The Albanian generally has no fondness for field labour, which he usually leaves to the women, children, and old men, and, when he does not follow the calling of a soldier or trader, prefers wood-cutting, attending to his vineyard, or, still more, tending sheep on the mountains, a pursuit which combines laziness with peril.

463 Besides those who enter the military service, numbers seek fortune in the large towns of Turkey, as traders, *cavasses*—a kind of orderly attached to Embassies, Consulates, banks, and other public offices, in which capacity they are much esteemed for their devotion to their employers—or in other positions of trust. As soon as they have amassed sufficient money to enable them to do so, they return home and marry, in order to prove themselves respectable members of [593] society. After a brief sojourn in the bosom of their [591] families they return to their employment, leaving

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

their young wives in charge of their parents. For with the Skipetars, as with the majority of Oriental peoples, patriarchal customs still survive, and all the sons bring home their brides to the paternal roof, there to remain in subjection to the parents-in-law until they shall themselves be heads of families.

The highest aspiration of an Albanian wife is to be the mother of boys, and she is less proud of her own beauty and the rank of her family than of the number of her sons and of their valour. The mother of many sons is sure of the lasting affection of her husband, enjoys the respect and consideration of the rest of his family, and wields great authority in the household to which she has come as a stranger. As they never permanently leave the paternal roof, she may look forward to their support and affection in her old age, and to see their children growing up around her. When her husband leaves his home for a sojourn at a distance, custom requires that she should manifest no grief at his departure. Instead of accompanying him to the threshold, and watching his familiar figure disappear in the distance, or going to meet him on his arrival, she hides herself at both the moment of his arrival and of his departure. A woman's tears or joy, they say, must not soften a man's heart when his duty lies before him. Neither must they ask for news of them at any time during their absence. Yet in the depth of their hearts no wives more regret the absence of their husbands, as the touching little superstitious observances with which they console themselves testify. Unknown to their partners, they sew in their clothes

PEAKS OF SHALA

Cheremi, our gayer gendarme, rose quickly 576
and went to meet her. He took her by the hand
and laid his cheek caressingly against hers. He
was like a child, Cheremi, with his happy face,
deep wrinkled with laughter, the mischievous
twinkle in his eyes, his bursts of wit and song.
But he looked all of his forty years as he gazed
tenderly at the woman of Shoshi.

"She is a woman of my people," he said, lead-
ing her gallantly to us.

"Are you a woman?" said Frances Hardy, cor-
rectly, in Albanian.

"I am born of Shala,[1] married in Shoshi," she 591
answered. Her voice was soft, and her hands
and feet would have been madness to a sculptor.
In any Paris restaurant those slender fingers,
almond nails, and delicate wrists, aristocratic,
well bred, would have been a sensation.

We admired the baby, excavating it from five [854]
folds of blankets to do so. How they live be-
neath the smothering I do not know; a Western
baby would die in three hours. We asked the
mother how old she was. Eighteen, she said,
and she had been married three years.

"And have you been home since?"

"Ah no," she said, with a wistful smile.

"Born in Shala," said Cheremi. "But she was
married in Shoshi, and in Shoshi she will die."

"I wonder what she thinks of us," I said, for, 000
though she must have felt great curiosity about
these strange beings, dropped apparently from
the sky upon her well-known trails, she did not

[1] [Albanian Mountain [13] tribe -- Analyst]

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

dining-table, to filch what it could. It was never caressed or deliberately fed; the whole Balkans believed that either indulgence would stop it from catching mice.

A man and his wife, with one or two small children, might live in this house. Of a kind hardly paralleled in the Balkans, except in the poorer parts of southern Greece, it was not common in Albania as a permanent dwelling. As soon as its master could scrape together the necessary money, he added a sitting-room. As he provided all the labour himself and needed to hire only one professional, a stone-mason who, like all his brethren in the Balkans, was also a carpenter, ten pounds sterling were enough. The sitting-room might be built on top of the kitchen (*shtëpí* or *shpi*, lit. 'house', from Lat. *hospitium*) or against one of its walls. It had a wooden floor, a chimney at one end, a window or two, a niche in the wall beside the hearth for the utensils for making coffee, and a few wooden pegs near the door on which to hang up rifles; it might also have a ceiling. It generally had a separate entrance, for sitting-rooms were men's apartments and Catholic, Moslem, and Orthodox Albanians all segregated their young women. The Catholics and Orthodox attributed this custom to plain jealousy, and the Moslems, less convincingly, to a desire to obey their Prophet's order. In the evening and when not at work outside during the daytime, the master of the house with his men guests reclined, ate and smoked in the sitting-room, while his wife and children remained in the draughty kitchen. But the men were less comfortable than might have been expected. Since Albanian chimneys seldom drew, acrid fumes from the wood fire filled the room and almost made them weep unmanly tears. But not quite, for if they succumbed, they would be derided as 'poor sticks' who 'would never see to shoot'.

Guests, in the form of family friends or strangers 'sent by God', often came for a night. Because there were no inns in the Albanian countryside except on the long-distance tracks used by pack-horses, it was the rule that a benighted stranger might claim supper and shelter till the morning from any house he saw. The hospitality was never refused or charged for, but travellers of standing were expected to give a sum proportionate not to the hospitality offered but to their supposed wealth.

As soon as the children in a two-roomed house grew up, its master must build again. His daughters went forth to live in their

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

husbands' homes, but his sons brought their brides to his house and each couple required a separate bedroom. If he were very poor, he might be unable to provide anything better than a lean-to in the farmyard, but the average man built a proper house round the nucleus of sitting-room and kitchen. In the first of the two types to which this house might conform, a number of rooms were grouped together sideways, sometimes on one floor only, usually on two, but rarely on more. In the second type one room was built on top of another, as in a tower, for two, three or even four storeys. This type was always known as a *kullë* (lit. 'tower'), a description also often given to a two- or three-storeyed cluster, although, more usually, any clustered house was called *shtëpi*, the name of the original kitchen. Access to the upper floor in the clustered type was usually by an inner, fixed staircase, and in a tower by an inner ladder that could be pulled up if an enemy penetrated to the ground floor; a trapdoor hung over both staircase and ladder, ready to be closed in an instant, if necessary. The two types of house were found side by side. The clustered one was preferred because its rooms were easier of access, but a family with many enemies or little land fell back on a tower as it was more defensible and took up less space. Whereas a clustered house stood in a farmyard surrounded by a fence of withered thorn or, more frequently, a stone and timber wall of the same construction as that of the house, a tower had generally no farmyard. All its appurtenances—livestock, farm implements, hay or other fodder—were gathered under its own roof, on the ground floor, as being more secure. In a one-storeyed cluster livestock, farm implements, and probably dairy and kitchen as well, were housed in sheds in the yard to save space in the house. In a two-storeyed cluster they were more often accommodated on the ground floor as in a tower, but for convenience rather than security, which was guaranteed by the farmyard wall. Since the sitting-room in such a house was often over the cow-house, it contained an ingenious labour-saving device for use after supper. As soon as the table had been removed, the host swept the crumbs towards a small, unobtrusive hole in the floor in front of the hearth, removed its lid, and with a last flick of his broom dropped the crumbs on the animals below. In a tower the kitchen was over the cow-shed and under the bedrooms, and these in turn were under the men's sitting-room.

In a tower or a two-storeyed cluster there might, for security

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

husband's brother, she married him and her husband's blood was lost exactly as if he had died by his brother's hand. If her lover was an outsider, her husband's brother killed her. He had the right to do so, woman though she was, for a question of honour was involved, and for questions of honour women might lawfully be put to death. Her son by the dead man could not kill the murderess because matricide is not allowable. Her husband's son by another wife was under no such inhibition, for he was only her stepson and therefore no relative. If her father's family believed in her adulterous motive, they sent a cartridge to her husband's brother, thereby signifying that they gave him leave to kill her and would not avenge her death. If they did not believe in the alleged motive, they avenged her by killing a man in her husband's family and an unusually bitter feud resulted.

Sometimes her husband's brother was too high-spirited or too angry to rest content with killing the murderess and killed one of her male relatives as well; he would plead that a woman's blood could never equal a man's and that her male relatives were responsible for her misdeeds. Sometimes a murderess escaped alive to her father's house. In that case she was held to have escaped from the suzerainty of her husband's family and became a stranger; as a stranger she must expiate her crime, but her sex shielded her personally and threw the onus of expiation on her male relatives—'Women don't have blood feuds'. Her husband's brother was therefore bound to kill one of her relatives. To avoid losing a male for his daughter's crime her father sometimes killed her himself, a desperate act that always satisfied her husband's brother.

A woman rarely murdered any other man than her husband. If she did murder her brother, it was assumed that it had happened by accident as he was her surest protector. There are no records of the murder of father or paternal uncle by a woman.

The last category of murders within the family includes the very rare cases in which a woman murdered a woman in her husband's or her father's family. If she murdered her mother or her daughter, both most unlikely contingencies if she were sane, the victim's blood was lost by law of nearest relative. In all other cases the result depended on whether her victim was single or married. Thus the murder of her unmarried sister, paternal aunt, brother's daughter, counted as a suicide and the victim's blood was lost. If she murdered her husband's sister, the victim's blood was again

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

he found it to his interest to stay away permanently. If he found the climate or the soil of his new home kindlier, he might sell his paternal holding through an intermediary and with the proceeds buy land in his new home. Before he ran away, he had probably sent his wife to her parents, who no doubt lived in another village. There he visited her at intervals until he was installed in his new property, when he sent for her and their children, if any. A voluntary exile, it may be added, was content to leave his wife in his brother's charge; a compulsory exile took her with him. Good examples of voluntary exiles turned permanent from motives of advantage are provided by the many Bojdan families from Bicaj in Lumë, who in recent centuries involved themselves in blood feuds and fled to Kosovë. Their feuds were compounded in every instance, but the greater fertility in Kosovë was not to be resisted. To-day their descendants live scattered as far apart as Kaçanik and Blacë, near Skopljë. They still preserve memories of their kinship one with another and with Bicaj; in fact, till the break-up of the Turkish empire in Europe after the Balkan wars interposed new frontiers between the Albanian lands, they made occasional pilgrimages to the homes of their ancestors in Bicaj.

Sometimes an exiled murderer set up a small business, selling cigarettes and cleaning shoes, and made money as he could never have done in his mountain village. Sometimes, too, he entered the service of a rich man and in return for his devotion was given a grant of land.

The emergence of a central government which punished murder tended to increase the number of permanent exiles and to make the strong as well as the weak run away. An Albanian would face boldly enough the vengeance of his victim's relatives, but he detested being imprisoned by the government. A man of Bashabun, near Elbasan, killed a neighbour years ago. Blood money was paid, and so far as his victim's family was concerned, he was free to return home. Unwilling, however, to serve the short term of imprisonment to which the government would condemn him, he remained in exile in Bosnia. A Milot murderer remained in exile after the payment of blood money had closed the feud, because he feared imprisonment by the government. In an accidental meeting with his victim's brother, both forgot the closing of the feud and shot at each other, the brother killing the murderer. Then only the taking of the oath with twenty-four men cleared him from the